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ABSTRACT

A review of current literature about the causes and prevention of violence against women is presented. The materials focus on the common theme of recognizing the victimization of women at all levels of society and include the following topics: (1) the history of violence and subordination of women, (2) sex role socialization, (3) sexism and the law, (4) women's movement responses to the trauma of abuse, and (5) government responses. The annotated bibliography highlights literature dealing with medical aspects, psychological and psychiatric studies, and sociological perspectives. (JAC)

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Violence Against Women: Causes and Prevention

A Literature Search and Annotated Bibliography

Second Edition

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Violence Against Women: Causes and Prevention

A Literature Search and Annotated Bibliography
Second Edition

Prepared by

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PREFACE

This report and selective annotated bibliography have been prepared by Women's Education Resources of University of Wisconsin—Extension as a resource for the increasing number of citizen groups, agencies, and professions concerned with crimes of violence against women. Over the past decade the women's movement has brought the subject of abuse of women, particularly rape and wife battering, into the open and has given leadership in the serious attention now offered by a range of institutions. Laws governing sexual assault and family violence are being modernized; rape crisis centers and shelters for battered women and their children have been developed in many communities; police, hospital personnel, and, to a lesser extent, the judiciary are being trained toward a more enlightened understanding of these crimes and a more humane treatment of the victims; city officials are making efforts that vary in commitment and effectiveness to assure safety on the streets and in domiciles.

Many of these recent steps are designed to treat and care for victims after the fact to reduce in some measure the inevitable, often long-range trauma and damage. Others are designed to prevent violence against women, although those measures too often place the burden of prevention on the women themselves. Throughout this decade of attention to rape and battering, however, these crimes continue to increase and are frequently cited as the fastest growing, most frequent crimes in the United States. Why?

What is known about the causes of these violent acts against women? What kinds of men commit these crimes? Are there common characteristics that can be identified before violence is done? Is there effective treatment of potential rapists and batterers to forestall their acts? Why are women the victims?

Why are these crimes so prevalent in the United States? What factors in our culture and our history have permitted or encouraged the degree of acceptance of violence that now exists? What can be done to redirect whatever societal or environmental factors appear to be root causes?

This study was undertaken to search the literature for research and articles that address such questions and to bring together in one succinct report a thorough, annotated bibliography of the best available sources and information. The number of published articles far exceeded initial expectations, testimony to the degree of interest. No blueprint of causes and effective prevention emerged, as hypotheses and observations were often tentative, inconclusive, and even contradictory. At the same time, much material was found that advances understanding of this urgent, complex situation and that merits study. In addition, proposed areas for further research and action are cited.

While child abuse, incest, prostitution, and sexual harassment at work are significant aspects of violence toward women, this report does not examine any of them on its own. What is evident in the matter of rape and battering, on which the study concentrates, may be extended to all other forms of violence. Basically, violence, whatever its outward form, has its roots in the inequality between men and women.

It is obviously the hope of Women's Education Resources that the many practitioners and researchers in and beyond Wisconsin who are concerned with ending violence will find this publication useful.

Kathryn F. Clarenbach, Ph.D.

"We distinguish the crime on the street from the 'Rape of the Sabine Women,' yet the painting by Rubens is informed by the same values that produce the street crime."

Deena Metzger, 1976

INTRODUCTION

A review of current literature into the causes and prevention of violence against women through searches of three separate data bases yielded over 1,000 titles of journal articles written mainly between 1970 and 1979,* and even that search was a limited one. The extent of interest in abuse of women generated by the women's movement in the last decade is enormous. Many of the 1,000 articles, studies, and surveys that the computer searches (Psychological Abstracts, Medlars, National Institute of Mental Health) turned up, however, were outside or barely relevant to the questions that were to be explored for this report: Who commit these acts? Do they have common and identifiable attributes? Is there treatment to forestall violence? Why are women the predominant victims? Are there cultural forces which stimulate/encourage violent acts? Of the titles finally chosen to be looked at, about 107, or slightly more than one-tenth of the total, seemed a judicious sampling of journal literature from all the disciplines and fields of interest that at one time or another deal with violence as the women victims progress through the health and criminal justice systems.

The disciplines which are studying aspects of violence toward women are the behavioral sciences (anthropology, psychology, sociology, social work); criminal justice (police and the courts); medicine (general, gynecology, psychiatry); and feminism (women's studies). For this report, victimization of women was treated as much as possible in its entirety, not separated into its several components, although the studies themselves naturally concern specific aspects of abuse. Wife battering and rape nevertheless do have to be talked about separately where causes, prosecution, and treatment are different.

In reading the literature it became clear that those who do the survey research that results in hypotheses of underlying causes (the analysts) and those who work with victims and perpetrators of crime and at the same time are developing treatments and solutions of their own (the activists) overlap a good deal. Not surprisingly, they have arrived at many similar conclusions. The strongest common thread of every study is recognition that "victimization of women by men appears to be related to our sexist society, in which male supremacy must be upheld at whatever cost. The form that victimization takes varies from subtle and not so subtle discrimination in hiring practices to blatant physical and sexual assaults on females."[1]

The sum total of creative research and planning of the last 10 years that has gone into what until so recently has been an unmentionable subject provides an excellent basis from which to continue the search for solutions to a fearful and ugly problem. Determined and dedicated feminists have pulled off the shrouds that have kept the problem hidden: Battering and rape, the visible results of centuries of sexism, are now part of everyone's landscape to be seen, discussed, and changed. In the meantime, while they are by no means universal, increasing human resources and other services for abused women are appearing throughout the country.

*Computer printouts of all 1,000 titles are available for examination in Women's Education Resources, UW-Extension, Lowell Hall, Madison, WI.

The search for causes and effective prevention comes from various directions, shaped by basic, often unspoken assumptions. Stanley L. Brodsky[2] has pointed to four consistent assumptions underlying a variety of rape-prevention planning. A couple of these assumptions are broad enough in scope, with some modification, to include battered women. They appear to summarize the conclusions that writers of varying persuasions have arrived at in respect to "blame models": victim blame, offender blame, societal blame, and situation blame.

Victim blame in sexual assault is characterized by attributions of seductive behavior or dress to the victim. Here the "just world" hypothesis applies: The victim gets what she deserves for having "precipitated" the event. In this connection, a recent newspaper account described the antagonism aroused by Rutgers University police for handing out rape cards to female students reading, "If I were a rapist, you'd be in trouble."[3] The dangerous situations listed were hitchhiking, walking in dark areas, or being out alone at night. The Women's Caucus of the Graduate School of Social Work protested that the rape cards "reinforce a dangerous and misguided blame-the-victim mentality and border on a perverse form of terrorism.... The blame is shifted to the potential victim; it is something she does or does not do which ultimately causes the crime." Prevention in this model of victim blame consists both of dress codes and education to eliminate "sexual teasing."

The source of offender blame is psychopathic deviance or character disorder. In this model, psychology *before* the rape act occurs—early identification and intensive therapeutic treatment, even commitment to mental hospitals—is recommended. *After* the act, psychological repair and even physical impairment of the deviant drive are recommended solutions. Imprisonment, hormone injections, castration, dismemberment, and death have all been called for at different times by different groups.

In the societal blame model (sick society), related also to wife beating, critics blame widely held social values: machismo upbringing; violence in the media; the double standard; women as an oppressed class; and unresponsive, ineffective criminal justice/social control mechanisms. Sexual assault in general rather than individual assault is thought of both as the product of deep-seated antagonism toward women and sexual-aggressive confusion. The societal prevention strategies are equality in sex-role socialization of children and adolescents, undercutting the machismo belief system of proving masculinity by acts of violence toward women, and developing support for other proofs of self-worth among groups most committed to proof of masculinity.

In the situation blame model, again related both to rape and to battering of women, Brodsky writes: "Dark alleys, passive women, overcrowded buildings, drunkenness, and misunderstood messages are some of the situational determinants. The situation is the catalyst...that allows societal, victim, and offender predisposition to come together." Prevention calls for modifying the situation: from high-intensity street lights to teaching self-defense to women.

Each of these models appears in different forms throughout the annotated bibliography. The bibliography has been organized for convenience, essentially by discipline. It contains a few significant background books, such as Susan Brownmiller's *Against Our Will: Men, Women and Rape* (1975), one of the first histories of rape written from a strong feminist position and one which has already achieved the status of a classic in feminist literature. But the emphasis in this report is on professional journal literature where the results of research studies first appear before they filter down into popular literature. Even journal literature on the subject of violence tends to become repetitive.

HISTORY OF VIOLENCE AND SUBORDINATION OF WOMEN

Many writers have found the subjugation of women an interesting topic to delve into (Hays, 1964; Daly, 1978; Figes, 1970; Boulding, 1976; Harris, 1977). From prehistoric times through every recorded civilization, those authors depict the continuing abuse or subordination of women. Justification for the maltreatment, advanced in religious doctrine as well as in civil codes, has been based on such grounds as evil spirits, wickedness, mysteriousness of the "other sex," and the right of husbands and fathers to demand obedience and to mete out punishment. Susan Brownmiller,[4] who perhaps best typifies contemporary feminist thinking, has been most severely attacked by some sociologists for her views as full of gaps and false assertions. Nevertheless, Brownmiller's assertion is supported by many other scholars. She concludes: "From prehistoric times to the present...rape has played a critical function. It is nothing more or less than a conscious process of intimidation by which all men keep all women in a state of fear."

J. J. Gayford,[5] an English psychiatrist who has studied wife abuse extensively, cites a long progression of nineteenth-century and earlier British references to marital violence. "In 1521 a Mr. Justice Brooke is quoted as stating that if a man beats an outlaw, a traitor, a pagan, a villain, or his wife, it is dispunishable." John Stuart Mill in *On the Subjection of Women* decried the conditions which allowed a man to commit almost any atrocity against his wife without punishment but prevented a wife from escaping from her total dependency. Gayford also cites evidence that women of upper social classes did not escape violence either. Caroline Norton, an upper-class feminist writer of the mid-nineteenth century, Gayford tells us, was herself pushed down stairs while pregnant. Much earlier, in folk culture, there are instances of wife battering exemplified in a sixteenth-century song "The Troubles of Marriage."[6] The text reads, "When my husband gets home he beats me as though this were my fated vocation. He chases me through the street, and I fear he'll kill me..."

Attorney Margaret Gates, director of the Center for Women Policy Studies, in her introduction to *The Victimization of Women*,[7] clarifies the disparate power relationship that began in earliest times, women pledging obedience and fidelity to their male protectors who saved them from being carried off by the enemy for their value as breeders. When women fall short of obedience and fidelity, or the modern equivalent, abuse begins. The opposition to equality and a desire for continued dependence on the husband that is still wanted by some women today is regarded by Gates as a reversion to the submissiveness that in our state of development is no longer needed and continues women's unequal socialization to their own and to society's detriment.

Katherine Saltzman, [illegible]tor and director of the Denver Coalition Against Sexual Assault, writes: "Female victimization could be viewed as a problem with manageable boundaries, amenable to specific solutions if the perpetrators were aberrant and if the criminal justice process could be effectively employed." But, she continues, there is a "widespread network of attitudes and social codes that provide a firm foundation for the enactment of violence on women by men."

DEVELOPMENT OF STATISTICS AND OTHER DATA

Today, one of the greatest continuing obstacles to eliminating violence is the inconclusiveness and variety of statistics about it. Intelligent, effective programs of prevention and research into causes must be based on facts that reveal the magnitude of the problem, where and when the violence occurs, the extent of repeated acts, and circumstances preceding and during assaults on women. Strong recommendations that such data be collected and disseminated have come from the National Women's Conference (1977), from the U.S. Commission on Civil Rights (1978), and from the report of Congressional Hearings of the Committee on Education and Labor on domestic violence (March 16–17, 1978). Until women feel safe and protected in doing so, they will not freely report their victimization. Numerous studies have verified this as one of the basic reasons accurate data are difficult to obtain. Only after the number of prosecutions is significant can realistic profiles of criminals and victims be available for research.

The Wisconsin Legislative Council Staff in its "Issues Relating to Domestic Violence"[9] notes that reliable national estimates of battered women vary from 4.7 million to 15 million. Others, including judges, attorneys, and domestic relations counselors, estimate that 50 percent of American wives are battered. That cases occur at all levels of society, not exclusively in the lower middle class where apologists in the past have been wont to place them, is now well known. Statistics for rape are also inconclusive: that there are from 3 to 10 times as many as reported.

Del Martin, a leading feminist authority on battered women, was among the earliest to publicize how far-reaching the abuse is. In an article "Battered Women: Society's Problem,"[10] Martin urges police to adopt a thorough recordkeeping system of wife battering so that figures may be consistently tallied nationwide. Separating wife-beating incidents from other categories of domestic disturbance is important: The marital relationship between victim and offender should be noted and tabulated under various categories, whether spouse or other legal or quasi-legal relationships, with incidents cross-referenced by name and address so that the police dispatcher may run a computerized check for previous reports involving the same parties and determine the degree of danger. Once on the scene, Martin continues, the investigating officer's job is to gather careful evidence, being aware of all possible corroborating witnesses. Under no circumstances should police assume, as they have done so frequently in the past, that the victim will drop the charges, and on that assumption fail to make a full report. A detailed report filed in every instance will help establish a uniformity in statistics for future use and eliminate the erratic figures that beleaguer resource people and researchers everywhere.

Although the dearth of adequate records is one of the fundamental problems of the criminal justice system, some of its members are now learning in training sessions given by feminist task forces of the need for a complete picture of what happened, one that does not gloss over or play down the facts of intrafamily violence. For the police themselves are not exempt from the sex-role socialization that deems the man's role superior in virtually every respect to the woman's, and that violence between men and women is not necessarily punishable.

CAUSES AND PREVENTION OF VIOLENCE AGAINST WOMEN

Sex-Role Socialization as a Factor in Violence

While influential researchers into aggression in animal behavior (Konrad Lorenz, Robert Ardrey, Desmond Morris) and human behavior (Freud and his school) assert that aggression is instinctual, there are social psychologists and feminists—Brownmiller and others—who challenge the ethological and psychoanalytic view and claim that aggression resulting in violence is learned behavior. They maintain that sex-role socialization is the chief cause of male violence and female submission to it. A good general definition of socialization comes from Marvin E. Wolfgang:[11] "Socialization...is the process of cultural transmission, of relaying through the social funnel of family and friends a set of beliefs, attitudes, values, speech, and habits."

In fact, present sex-role socialization is the most pervasive influence in Western society, strongest in its hold and most unyielding to change. Women's status has been referred to as "the final inequality." A clear example is resistance to the Equal Rights Amendment, a cornerstone for building improvements into our social system and eliminating sex-role stereotyping. Already debated for 7 years, it is a principal target of a few states where the strong sex-role-socialization beliefs of its opponents make voters oppose equality for women and men and obstinately reject its passage.

Murray A. Straus,[12] a social psychologist whose studies on family violence are highly regarded, wrote that a marriage license is a hitting license. He enlarges on nine specific ways in which the right of the male to use violence is reinforced by the cultural norms and values of the Western world. They are worth enumerating because they largely reflect the opinions of most students of the subject: (1) *The defense of male authority*. Men believe they are superior; however, when it is demonstrated that they are not superior, they fall back on physical violence, the "ultimate resource." (2) *Compulsive masculinity*. In this, degradation and humiliation of women are often the motivating forces, especially in rape. The mother's exclusive role in child rearing creates a fundamental difficulty for males, who compensate for it by becoming supermale. (3) *Economic constraints and discrimination in employment*. These allow women little choice but to continue to endure physical attacks. The alternative is poverty. (4) *Burdens of child care*. This keeps women out of the job market. (5) *Myth of the single-parent household*. This involves the belief that children are harmed if raised by only one parent. (6) *Preeminence of wife role for women*. This role is the only basis for a respected position in society for women. (7) *Negative self-image*. Women fear achievement, as it causes feelings of guilt, and this guilt permits them to tolerate and even seek male aggression. (8) *Women as children*. Although women-as-property is no longer part of the legal system as it was for so long, elements of this outlook linger on: Women need men to care for them. (9) *Male orientation of the criminal justice system*. This virtually guarantees that few women will be able to secure legal relief because of the socialization of the police and judiciary in the very characteristics described here.

Straus speaks strongly for assertiveness training for women, an important step in the direction of sexual equality, and at the same time of the necessity for men to perceive the "burdens and restraints" of the traditional male role as well as its advantages. Only then will there be less violence in the world and in the family.

Straus draws for support of his theories on the earlier work of William J. Goode,[13] sociologist of Columbia University, whose profound research examines the deterrent value to both the threat

and use of force in male and female role-socialization. Both Goode and Wolfgang[14] maintain that all societies contain elements of acceptable limits to violence in some form. Wolfgang writes: "...the use of physical force by parents to restrain and punish children is permissible, tolerated, and encouraged, and is thereby part of the normative process by which every society regulates its child rearing." In a particularly lucid article, Wolfgang, speaking of the ultimate use of force in war and its connection to force in civil life, says: "When the front-line instruments of war become part of the physical features of a child's life space, when cannons, rifles, grenades, and soldiers are moved from real battlefields to the mind of the child and the plastic world of his playroom and are among the relatively few objects touched and manipulated by the child in the process of becoming, then some set of values associated with the legitimacy and recognition of the superiority of violent activity is transmitted. What is not empirically clear is the extent to which such transmission is later translated into violence by the child, as a child, youth, or adult. *As a legislator, father, policeman or any other role actor, he is still the carrier of attitudes related to that play activity, unless contrary values have intervened.*" (Emphasis added.) Wolfgang indicts women, too, for inculcating these attitudes: For in encouraging boys to act like little men and not to cry when hurt, mothers may be preparing them as much for desensitization to assaults on and by them as for enduring adversity with strength.

Further evidence of our culture's acceptance of violence and brutality can be seen in professional football and hockey, where both the players and the spectators display a bloodthirstiness reminiscent of the old Roman arena. The emotional and highly successful opposition to gun control legislation speaks further of the tenacity of this acceptance.

Other Views of Violence in Personality Development

Bruce Rounsaville,[15] Department of Psychiatry, Yale University Medical School, contrasts his hypothesis for the cause of wife beating with sociological theories of masculine/feminine role-socialization. While he admits that evidence also supports theories such as Straus's (and Goode's and Wolfgang's), Rounsaville views family violence as a "final common pathway of multiple determinants." While as individuals, he says, the husband may not be violent and the wife may be unwilling to tolerate abuse, once enmeshed in a "dyadic relationship," and marriage is a most intense relationship, a dynamic is created in which violence occurs in a stable, ongoing fashion.

In his study at Yale University, abuse was found not to be the result of the decline and breakdown of the relationship in most cases. In most cases, too, women were warned early in the marriage of potential physical abuse. "The stable, enduring aspect of the battering relationship is remarked upon by all those who have studied it and constitutes the most important feature to explain and aim interventions toward."

Leston L. Havens,[16] also expressing a psychiatric point of view, suggests, while admitting that the evidence is far from complete: "The tendency towards violence is passed on through the body type, temperament, and perhaps special inherited features, but also through psychic and social mechanisms. Identification with the aggressor, for example, often transforms passive experience into active traits; we learn to do unto others what has been done unto us. In short, the transmission process is fed from many sources."

Social caseworkers also recognize that patriarchal society is riddled with attitudes of male dominance/female submissiveness. But it has been difficult for this profession to shed both its longstanding adherence to the preservation of the home and the sanctity of the family at whatever cost, and its tolerance for the Freudian notion, spelled out by Helene Deutsch, of female personality development: Aggressive drive turned inward resulting in the masochistic passivity of the female nature accepting of, if not actually enjoying, the experience of rape! Other feminist thinkers in addition to Brownmiller (Albin[17]) have, of course, very convincingly refuted this position which they view as nothing short of slander.

In clinging to the home as the ideal social unit, social work and the mental health professions have also been careful not to meddle with minority group tradition, even in those instances when the tradition allows wife abuse as a fact of life. But feminist theory is making inroads on social casework and the mental health professions as it has on the medical profession and the criminal justice system. Many professionals now reject traditional attitudes and are receptive to innovative treatment for both abusive husbands and victim wives. Beverly Nichols[18] calls for more professionals who themselves come from ethnic minorities and will understand whatever root of the problem of wife-as-property may be present. A special issue of *Social Work*, November 1976, carries articles on rape and battered women. Articles on both subjects speak to the need for consciousness raising of agency staffs and taking on the role of advocacy for abused wives.

Literature and Media as Socialization Factors

Many writers believe that in addition to aggressive/submissive behavior patterns learned in the family, there are other reasons for females becoming victims. Becker and Abel[19] cite instances of classical and popular literature and films that influence female and male children from an early age, stories in which females always need protection and males are able to protect themselves. Films also glorify rape; literature is replete with it. Some recent striking examples are *A Clockwork Orange, Straw Dogs, Diary of a Rapist, Last Exit to Brooklyn, Last Tango in Paris*, and *Deep Throat*.

Television advertising and television prime-time programs without exception depict women as either sex objects or inferior to men, from the most simple-minded soap advertisement to Archie's routine belittling of Edith, to the violent police shoot 'em ups that recur nightly on every screen.

As recently as November 1978, at a 3-day National Conference on Feminist Perceptions in Pornography held in San Francisco, women's rights advocates confronted pornography, as well as less blatant depictions of women, as it relates to their physical mistreatment. Fashion magazines and record album covers are including photographs of women in masochistic roles. Diana Russell[20] regretted that feminists have been slow to resist the "liberal-radical line" that pornography is socially harmless. By definition, pornography is hateful of women, but the First Amendment guaranteeing free speech is presenting a difficult challenge to the elimination of pornographic presentations. In San Francisco (and in Madison, Wis., in December 1978), Take Back the Night marches served as statements of women's unwillingness to allow their freedom to be limited by rapists lurking in the dark.

In a January 1979 publication addressed to violence against women, members of Temple Beth-Israel in Madison, Wis.,[21] issued this statement: "Pornography—the prostitution of the human image—is now an accepted fact of everyday life, to be found not only behind opaque storefronts but on television and in magazines which children can leaf through in the supermarket. Hardcore pornography has gone beyond the deliberately sordid presentation of sexual acts to the depiction of violent sadism against women. As Robin Morgan observes, no one would contend that anti-Semitic propaganda has no causal connection with pogroms. Similarly, one cannot disconnect the hatred of women propagated by pornography from the fact that crimes against women are increasing in cruelty and in frequency. Films are being shown *legally, openly* in this country which culminate in the actual deliberate murder of a woman on screen."

Rapists and Wife Beaters: Who They Are

Whatever form violence takes, the consensus is that its seeds are planted in the home, where the most important part of socialization occurs. Children who see violence between parents, or who are themselves victims, are more likely to become batterers and victims than those who never see their parents abused or are not themselves subjected to corporal punishment. Gender-role stereotyping taught and reinforced at an early age makes men become more aggressive than women, while in the male subculture, females are virtually always treated as inferior, weak, and passive. Fairy tales, cartoons, television programs, and commercials all reinforce the image. The pastor of a Lutheran Church in Portage, Wis., says of the man who recently murdered his wife, two children, and himself, "...He was what has come to be known as the typical 'macho' male, he believed he wasn't supposed to have any problems...that he wasn't supposed to share his problems. He really felt he had to be in control."[22]

The quality of life leading to adulthood is paramount, but Donna D. Schram[23] says that it is difficult to draw a consistent picture of a rapist. Rapists have been variously described as antisocial, psychopathic, autistic, depressive, less intelligent than other convicted felons, average or above, good treatment prospects, poor treatment prospects. Schram believes it is a myth to suggest that rapists share common characteristics, as there are more similarities than differences between rapists and nonrapists. All in all, she finds a confusing welter of views. Moreover, since 97 percent of offenders are never apprehended, and therefore never participate in research intended to define the characteristics of sexual assault, the remaining 3 percent is hardly an adequate sample. Nevertheless, research goes on.

An assessment by psychiatrist M. L. Cohen and his associates,[24] based on what appears to be three types of rapists differentiated on the basis of their underlying motivation, seems reasonable: Those men with an "aggressive aim," skilled and attractive, have a good prognosis for recovery. A second type, distinguished by "sexual aim," also appears to have a prognosis for recovery, but treatment is long-term and beset by regressions. Members of a third type, "sexual aggression-diffusion," display such capacity for brutality and sadism that they do not benefit from treatment.

Martin Symonds,[25] director of the Victimology Program at the Karen Horney Clinic, confirms the view that rapists, whether compulsive or predatory, have in common the use of terror, intimidation, and outright acts of violence and sadism to achieve immediate subjugation of the victim.

In the matter of wife battering, Del Martin[26] is critical of most of the studies that have been undertaken. They tend to concentrate, she points out, on alcohol use, unemployment, jealousy, stress, "innate" male aggression, and victim provocation, but the chief value of all these reasons is to provide the husband with a continuing excuse for beating his wife. She says that if police officers (usually male) identify with the husband and treat the incident lightly, the D.D. unit (police jargon for Domestic Disturbance unit) will be reinforcing the role-models of the violent, imperious male and the powerless female victim. "But if the police efficiently calm down the parents, and, whether or not an arrest is made, effectively communicate the attitude that violent behavior is not to be excused or tolerated, the children will receive healthier signals."

Martin has limited praise for such programs as Night Prosecutor programs to mediate disputes quickly because, in the usual fashion, wife beating is seen as a minor offense and the husband is let off with a warning. Better are programs in which teams of police and mental health professionals work together, especially when women are part of the team, for they have a good record of defusing volatile situations. Martin reminds us that intervention is not synonymous with prevention, that for too long preservation of the marriage has been valued over the quality of the marriage, and that sex roles in and out of marriage need to be redefined. Another possible way to prevent violence at home is to start family life classes at an early age. Moreover, teachers and parents

alike need to be trained to overcome their own sexism so as not to infect their children. Martin hopes that by refusing to accept marital violence as inevitable, the process of change may be started.

Ugly as wife beating is, the violence does not always end there. In the January 1979 issue of *Equal Opportunity Forum*, Toni Breiter[27] cites two studies with especially telling, shocking information: "A California report in 1971 showed that while only 8.7 percent of male homicide victims were murdered by their wives, 32.8 percent of female homicide victims were murdered by their husbands.

In a Kansas City Police Department study done in 1973 it was revealed that in 25 percent of domestic homicide and aggravated assaults, police had been called to the residence at least once in the two years prior to the act, and in 50 percent of the cases had been called five or more times."

Sexism and the Law

Probably nowhere else has the effect of language on society's attitude toward violence been so apparent as the sexist language contained in rape law. Rape laws were based on traditional mores of sexual relations, and they did not protect women as individuals so much as they protected them as the property of men. Nor have legal commentators had great sensitivity in the interpretation of law, for no man except a male prisoner perhaps, who has himself been raped, feels the fear of rape in any way comparable to women. These are the contentions of Camille E. Le Grand,[28] whose study dates from 1973. Since that date, considerable change has taken place, spurred by the outrage of the women's movement. Laws still are variable, and better or worse from state to state, but New York, California, Michigan, and Wisconsin are among the 36 states that have made changes to help ease the rules of evidence which in the past have made successful prosecution nearly impossible, in addition to traumatizing the victim through thoroughly unscrupulous treatment.

Nevertheless, attorney LeGrand has been especially discerning in her study of the history of rape law: its overprotectiveness of the female and its regard for her as *man's property*, its use of words like *ravaging* and *despoiling* the object. She shows how California formerly categorized rape as a crime against public decency and good morals, along with horse racing, gambling, indecent exposure, and abortion. Until recently, California had never viewed rape as a crime against physical integrity, peace of mind, or freedom of movement without fear of attack.

LeGrand observes closely what police departments everywhere have named *unfounded* complaints. "This term," she says, "is a technical one, meaning only that police, for various reasons, have decided not to advise prosecution. It does not imply that a woman's report of the rape is inaccurate. The unfortunate ambiguity of the term and the high rate of 'unfounding' have probably contributed to the myth that women make many false rape complaints."

Here are some "unfounded" complaints: Victim was intoxicated. She delayed in reporting. There is no physical condition to support the allegation. She refuses to submit to a medical examination. The victim knew the offender. A weapon was used as a threat, but there was no battery. The unfounding does not say anything about victims being young, afraid, and embarrassed to cooperate with the ordeal of police investigation. What unfounded means is that there is not a chance of obtaining a conviction in court.

There were still other realms of unfoundedness. Among these were "victim precipitation," a phrase coined first by Amir, an Israeli criminologist, by which he meant that the victim behaved in a manner to suggest or to signal to the offender that she had given consent to sexual relations and thus made herself vulnerable. The concept of victim precipitation rests on male definitions of

expressed or implied consent, and is therefore very restrictive of what a female is allowed to do: Neither does she walk in dark areas alone nor does she ever hitchhike. The view that men hold of sexual invitation is clearly unreasonable but so ingrained in society's thinking that *women* themselves accept the definition and are made to feel guilty about their decisions to do or not to do certain things. In short, victim precipitation is nothing more than a *male view* of events leading up to the incident.

A medical examination is one of the caveats of foundedness. Yet when there is medical evidence available to the police, they often have not used what has been presented to them.

Other obstacles for a victim to hurdle are myths: Women are hostile, or amoral, and seek to convict innocent men; women like to be raped (that dictum is attributable to Freud and his interpreters); men are in the hold of uncontrollable emotions.

The hurdles go on and on: The victim had to prove her veracity by taking a psychological examination or a lie detector test to demonstrate that she was not subject to delusions. Having been put on trial herself *before* the courtroom trial, she then was made to undergo the "resistance" standard: Did she or did she not resist her assailant (with his gun or knife at her head)? What of her previous sexual life—questions that could never be asked of the offender. And finally, the judge was wont to caution the jury: "Remember that you may convict an innocent man." As Le Grand points out, the criminal justice system's desire to protect good, chaste, young women clashes with their fear of convicting an innocent man, one of their own.

Today many of these blatant abuses have mercifully been eliminated, and much of the literature does reflect fairer attitudes toward the handling of the crime. Between 1973 and 1976, new rape legislation was enacted in 36 states and proposed in 13 others.

There have been, in general, two forms of change: Adoption of new and wider definitions of rape and a relaxation of proof requirements. The tendency is now to identify the crime as criminal sexual assault, thereby making it sex-neutral and applicable to both women and men.

Women's Movement Response to the Trauma of Abuse

Lisa Leghorn[29] identifies three parallel concepts in the history of the movement against abuse of women and the history of the antirape movement: (1) the analysis of the source of violence against women, (2) the traditional response to violence against women by the criminal justice system and social and governmental agencies, and (3) the nature of the grassroots response. In both movements, she says, "The grassroots groups have exposed the nature of power relations between men and women and the institutions that sustain those relations. They have also developed an alternative, self-help response that has been so effective that it has been imitated by some of the very same institutions that had formerly been so antagonistic to victims of rape and wife abuse." Because grassroots groups have an intimate knowledge and understanding of the problems, Leghorn thinks it is imperative that they be recognized and receive funds necessary to continue their work. These groups represent the kind of invaluable resource that is essential to the ongoing search for workable solutions to the abuse problem.

The women's movement, in making rape its prime consideration, opened the public's eyes to the high incidence and extreme brutality of victimization of women. Public awareness and concern have also been aroused by Take Back the Night marches, No More Assaults months, and comparable demonstrations against sexual harassment and pornography conducted in many cities. Women have produced films, dramas, and other effective learning materials and have instituted educational programs in schools, churches, and other forums. The numbers and thrusts of

conferences across the country are too many to count. Sensitive media treatment has grown in both quantity and quality. By publicizing how widespread this violence really is, the need for reform has been emphasized. Many studies of the victims themselves and manuals on how to set up crisis centers have appeared in response to this need.

Two women who responded to victims' needs for practical assistance and, at the same time, provided victim-related research are Ann Wolbert Burgess and Lynda L. Holmstrom.[30] They gave both crisis and long-term counseling to victims who came to Boston City Hospital's emergency room, and they reported to the hospital on a 24-hour basis, or whenever a victim was admitted. Burgess, a psychiatric nurse, and Holmstrom, a sociologist, have documented a "rape trauma syndrome." This syndrome presents with definite states of acuteness, psychic and somatic reactions, and mood changes, and ultimately involves a reintegration of the experience into the victim's life. They have also described different forms of rape, distinguishing between sudden (blitz) attacks and those in which the assailant works his way into the victim's confidence before the attack. Both women maintain that what dominates the feelings of rape victims is fear of injury, mutilation, and death—not guilt or shame. They also point out how insensitive postrape treatment by hospital personnel and police contributes to the victim's trauma.

Deena Metzger,[31] a psychotherapist who is also a fiction writer and poet, has written a particularly insightful personal account of her experience as the victim of a brutal rape. Her case study confirms and dramatizes the findings of Burgess and Holmstrom. Metzger writes of the experience and the long period of trauma that followed, not as a cool research report, but rather as a sensitive essay about a devastating life event. The many-faceted and long-range needs of rape victims are clearly illustrated.

Studies of rape crisis centers also abound (Herschel, 1978; O'Sullivan, 1978). Donna D. Schram[32] identifies the forms that both counseling and advocacy services take, such as crisis lines manned around the clock by volunteers who have had training in crisis intervention, rape law, and criminal processing. Mental health counselors are also available for long-term counseling and to assure proper medical followup for the victim.

As an outgrowth of these efforts, victims and their advocates note considerable progress in the several institutions with whom rape victims come in contact: law enforcement, medical, and criminal justice. Better police/community relations, special training for police in handling rapes, and an increase in the number of women on police forces have resulted in more sensitive treatment by law enforcement officials in many communities. In the courts, district attorneys, prosecutors, and judges are increasingly attentive to the rights of both victims and witnesses, especially where sexual assault laws have been modernized and where formal advocates serve.

Victims who complain about their medical care fault the apparent indifference and lack of respect by the staff who treat them. Other complaints concern the absence of complete information about laboratory tests, the lack of privacy, and a general humiliation experienced as a result of all of these factors. Hospitals have been influenced through the efforts of the women's movement to alter their treatment of victims and have instituted training programs with written procedures for personnel to follow (LeBourdais[33]).

Effective programs with each of the social institutions named above are shared by the National Coalition Against Sexual Assault, the National Coalition Against Domestic Violence, Women Against Violence Against Women, and the National Coalition of Victim Assistance. These member groups are also becoming increasingly successful in influencing public policy.

The women's movement response to the outrage of wife battering is somewhat different from the antirape activity. Erin Pizzey,[34] who with Del Martin was the first to speak out on the problem, established the first refuge for battered women and their children at Chiswick, England, and created the model that battered women shelters have taken in the United States.

A battered woman takes her first steps toward independence when she summons the courage to leave her husband and the financial support he has provided. Before total independence can be achieved, there are difficult months and even years of breaking away from the marriage and establishing oneself as an assertive, self-sufficient individual. Family shelters or refuges are an important first step on the road to independence.

A complete list of shelters and services available in the United States is provided in a *Directory of Programs Providing Services to Battered Women*, published by the Center for Women Policy Studies, a multifaceted project funded by the Law Enforcement Assistance Administration (LEAA) and the Department of Health and Human Services (DHHS). In late 1979, it was estimated that there are between 200 and 300 shelters or refuges in the entire United States. Many of them are crowded and uncomfortable, and the facilities are usually insufficient to meet the urgent needs of the women and their children. Despite their shortcomings, however, the shelters are highly regarded and necessary community resources. Unfortunately, money to keep them going and to increase their number has been scarce. Martin[35] claims that less than one-fifth of 1 percent of the billions of dollars granted by private foundations goes to women's projects such as this one. Public funding, however, is increasing.

The needs of women who seek shelter in these facilities is the subject of speculation and research. After taking the courageous initial step of leaving a battering partner, the woman must make other decisions. Should she return home or not? File charges or not? Perpetuate or terminate the marriage? The capacity to deal with these decisions varies, but observers agree that battered women share one characteristic in common: they do *not* enjoy abuse. Barbara Star[36] concluded her study of the personalities of battered women by stating: "Perhaps the findings holding the greatest significance for future research are those that offer an alternative to the masochism theory. The battered women in this study showed no signs of being submissive people, instead they scored within the normal range of the submissive-assertive continuum. They were, however, women who repressed anger, were timid, were emotionally reserved, and had low coping abilities. These factors point to passivity, rather than the need for maltreatment, as the more appropriate rationale underlying the endurance of physical abuse."

Government Response: Resources To Counteract the Abuse Problem

The Federal Government is responding to pressure by the women's movement on a number of fronts, especially regarding domestic violence. In April 1979, the White House created an Interdepartmental Committee on Domestic Violence with representation from 12 Federal departments. DHHS established an Office on Domestic Violence that administers the National Clearinghouse on Domestic Violence (NCDV), coordinates related DHHS programs, and supports public education, technical assistance, and research and demonstration programs in the field.

Funding for a range of programs has come from other Federal agencies as well. LEAA had funded 25 national demonstration projects by the close of 1979. The Department of Housing and Urban Development (HUD) has provided funds to buy and renovate local shelters for battered women through its Community Development Block Grant programs. The DHHS National Center on Child Abuse and Neglect has given grants to investigate sexual abuse of children, and the National Institute for Alcohol Abuse and Alcoholism is assisting projects dealing with alcohol-related domestic violence. In some states, funds from Title XX of the Social Security Act have been used for shelters.

The U.S. House of Representatives passed the Domestic Violence Prevention and Services Act in December 1979. Senate action on a related measure, S. 1843, is expected in the spring of 1980. Both the House and Senate bills authorize $65 million over a 3-year period to make existing

shelters more financially secure and to develop a more extensive network of domestic violence service programs throughout the country. The House and Senate versions differ in the way grants will be allocated: whether they will go through the states or directly from DHHS to local groups. Both versions provide funds to DHHS for its Office on Domestic Violence, although the amounts vary in each. Both bills would require that the bulk of funding for domestic violence service programs be provided by private, nonprofit sources. Progress on legislation as well as updates on Federal agency activity are reported monthly in *Response*, the Center for Women Policy Studies newsletter.

Other levels of government have also invested resources in the effort to counteract violence against women. Cities and counties are now less reluctant to assist grassroots groups; state justice departments are instituting family violence units; special training for police is increasing; and the criminal justice system is beginning to support victim/witness advocates. In states where coalitions against domestic violence or sexual assault are strong, state legislative activity acknowledging public responsibility is in motion. The extent to which this momentum can be sustained remains to be seen.

Continuing Questions and Problems for Research

Investigators from many disciplines continue to examine destructive behavior and search for effective catalysts to change social attitudes. They are spurred on by the eager receptiveness of women with families who are being helped by various grassroots organizations and by the sustained effort of women's action groups and task forces in spearheading the search for solutions to end violence toward women. Yet, because violence is "second nature" or a conditioned response to overwhelming personal problems, many more years of searching will undoubtedly be necessary.

Still, the goal for women to become equal partners with men through national and state law—the bottom line of basic change—must be reached. Objectives that are being worked on now and that have at least partial acceptance in some states are: (1) the quality of the marital relationship must be recognized as more important than the preservation of the marriage; (2) sex roles in and out of marriage must be redefined, with elimination of the concept of the man as head of the household; (3) family life classes must be started in early childhood rather than at the high school level where it is too late; (4) parents need to learn the effects of sex-role stereotyping on their children; and (5) the criminal justice system must continue to work on more effective training for its members.

One promising development pointed out by Gilbert Geis[37] is the organization of a National Center for the Prevention of Rape located in the National Institute of Health, a clearinghouse for information, and a disburser of research and action money for community efforts and scholarly investigation dealing with sexual assault. Geis has also listed problems that need researching, such as the relationship of weather to sexual aggression; a detailed analysis of published material on forcible rape; long-term consequences of victimization by forcible rape (and of wife battering) and longitudinal studies beginning in childhood of the effects of force and the threat of force in families; the psychology of the rapist (and of the wife batterer): his ideational world, focusing on his perceptions and patterns of motivation; cross-cultural work on laws regarding forcible rape and wife beating; legal research on the consequences of law reform; how to convince the public that rape (and wife battering) are unequivocally crimes of violence, not of sex, and are as punishable as other violent crimes; sociological research on the effects of law that mandate capital punishment for persons convicted of rape-murder; and studies probing citizen/juror reactions to various kinds of cases.

This roster of research areas can be multiplied by the many others pointed out in this summary overview and suggested in the following annotated bibliography. New and more conclusive information on the causes of violence against women must be researched, far more comprehensive statistical data are required, and the material already available should be more widely read and utilized. These measures will help accelerate the progress of the past decade in moving toward significant reduction, if not the ultimate disappearance, of violence against women.

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20. *Wisconsin State Journal* (1978). "Feminists Get Together to Fight Pornography." December 1, sect. 5, p. 4.
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Anthologies: Studies From Several Disciplines

Chapman, Jane Roberts, and Gates, Margaret (eds.) (1978). *The Victimization of Women*. Beverly Hills, Calif.: Sage Publications (Vol. 3, *Sage Yearbooks in Women's Policy Studies)*.

The 11 essays were written by specialists in the study of abusive behavior toward women and children and the overall effects of sexism not only on the economy but on the total quality of life. The book demonstrates graphically the need to overhaul society. Suggestions and possible solutions offered in the articles would go a long way toward eliminating the worst features of sexist society.

Chappell, Duncan, and others (eds.) (1977). *Forcible Rape: The Crime, the Victim and the Offender*. New York: Columbia University Press.

This book contains both original essays and reprints. Susan Griffin's "Rape: The All-American Crime" from 1971 *Ramparts* is the first extensive exploration of the subject from a feminist perspective. The 18 articles represent the following disciplines: legal, sociological, psychological, medical. Extensive bibliographies and references are included. Contributors include outstanding names such as Ann Wolbert Burgess and Menachim Amir.

Roy, Maria (ed.) (1977). *Battered Women: A Psychosociological Study of Domestic Violence*. New York: Van Nostrand Reinhold.

This anthology was written by representatives of many different professions who deal with wife abuse and was coordinated by Maria Roy, the founder and director of a crisis center for battered women in New York City. There are articles on the history of wife beating, demographic characteristics of battered women, a comparison of wife beating and husband beating, the neurology of explosive rage, legal concerns and solutions, and trends in prevention.

Schultz, LeRoy G. (ed.) (1975). *Rape Victimology*. Springfield, Ill.: Chas. C. Thomas.

The 20 articles were drawn from professional journal literature in criminology, sociology, law, and medicine. Included is "The Victim in a Forcible Rape Case: A Feminist View" by Paula Lake Wood. Of special interest is H. A. Snelling's "What is Rape?" an exploration of ancient law on rape and its punishment, with pronouncements from the Roman, Jewish, and Anglo-Saxon law and such early legal writers as Coke, Hale, Hawkins, and Blackstone.

Smart, Carol, and Smart, Barry (eds.) (1978). *Women, Sexuality, and Social Control*. London and Boston: Routledge and Kegan Paul.

This anthology of eight articles examines from legal and sociological perspectives the regard in which women have been held from early times. In the Middle Ages, domestication reduced female roles and converted relatively independent wives into totally dependent housewives. Especially noteworthy is the essay by Albie Sachs, "The Myth of Male Protectiveness and the Legal Subordination of Women: An Historical Analysis."

Steinmetz, Suzanne K., and Straus, Murray A. (eds.) (1974). *Violence in the Family*. New York: Dodd Mead and Co.

This selective collection of readings was edited and introduced by two authorities who have done much research and writing on violence. It considers, in turn, studies on violence between spouses and kin, violent parents, and the family as training ground for societal violence. In the general introduction, "Social Myth and Social System in the Study of Intrafamily Violence," a variety of theories on family organization are given which contribute to an understanding of violence.

Viano, Emilio C. (1976). *Victims and Society*. Washington, D.C.: Visage Press.

Many chapters in this work were originally prepared for presentation at the International Study Institute on Victimology held at Bellagio, Italy, in 1975. Each of the five parts is preceded by an overview of the issues: Conceptual Issues, Research Methodology and Findings, The Victim and the Justice System, Treatment and Prevention, Institutional Victimization. The 46 chapters are either knowledge oriented (empirical investigations, methodologies, analyses of concepts) or practice oriented (policy recommendations, descriptive and evaluative reports of treatment and law). Victimology, a branch of criminology, looks at the victim as playing an active role in the crime. The use of such phrases as *victim precipitation* and *victim provocation* inherently sexist terms, have been dropped in favor of sex-neutral terms, *victim participation* and *victim vulnerability*, as more nearly approximating actual victim behavior.

Walker, Marcia J., and Brodsky, Stanley L. (eds.) (1976). *Sexual Assault: The Victim and the Rapist*. Lexington, Mass.: Lexington Books.

This anthology, which looks at the "institution" of rape from every point of view, was compiled by the Rape Research Group, Psychology Department, University of Alabama. The following subjects are included: history, criminal justice now and trends toward future practices, treatment of the victim and development of treatment centers, changing attitudes toward laws, prevention initiated by the women's movement, treatment of rapists, social definition, and how to prevent.

Background Material: General and Historical Perspectives

Boulding, Elise (1976). *The Underside of History: A View of Women Through Time*. Boulder, Colo.: Westview Press.

This 800-page encyclopedic book—with access to all ages and epochs, prehistoric to the 1970's—describes the lives and thoughts of many movers and shakers who have made significant contributions despite sexist barriers. Tables, illustrations, end-of-chapter notes, and selective bibliographies lead the reader to valuable resources.

Daly, Mary (1978). *Gyn/Ecology: the Metaethics of Radical Feminism*. Boston: Beacon Press.

This latest work by America's number one feminist philosopher-theologian is a total castigation and rejection of patriarchal society and its institutions. It is at the same time a celebration of the creativity and potentiality of women and a plea to break the bonds of men's subjugation of women. Daly's unique use of language exemplifies both the subjugation and the path toward freedom from men's rule. There is a very intense building up, with example after example of male oppressiveness.

Figes, Eva (1970). *Patriarchal Attitudes: The Case for Women in Revolt*. New York: Fawcett.

This expose of myths and legends in the Judaic tradition begins with that of Adam's first wife Lilith and continues through Freud's Victorian theories of submissive women. The sexual taboos of various world cultures and the fear of the insatiable dominating woman that lead to an all-powerful patriarchal society are described. Also included is a description of the transformation of woman's role in the economic chain from a co-equal with her husband in the home-craft system to one of dependence after the Industrial Revolution. All the biases of renowned theorists such as Rousseau and Darwin are shown as denigrating women to the advantage of men.

Fromm, Erich (1973). *The Anatomy of Human Destructiveness*. New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston.

In this profound study, Fromm treats the problem of aggression: defensive "benign" aggression in the service of survival of the individual and the species and malignant aggression, that of destructiveness and cruelty, which appears only in humans. He does this from a sociobiological point of view, using a revised psychoanalytic method and avoiding the "instinctivistic" concepts of Freud's theory. His subjects in this study of various forms of character-rooted, malignant aggression are Stalin, Himmler, and Hitler.

Gayford, J. J. (1977). "Battered Wives One Hundred Years Ago," *The Practitioner* 219(1309) July:122-128.

This book examines historically the probable origin of the erroneous belief that wife battering was lawful because women were viewed as property. It also looks at the treatment of offenders, with citations including such nineteenth-century authors as Charles Dickens.

Harris, Marvin (1977). "Why Men Dominate Women," *The New York Times Magazine* November 13:46.

Harris, a Columbia University anthropologist, explains why men have dominated women by tracing the domination back to band and village societies. He says men have not dominated women because it is natural for them to be aggressive and take control; it is not a biological imperative, genetically programmed, an arbitrary social convention, or a conspiracy to degrade women. Harris links warfare and male sexism to social interventions which arose to serve the same vital function, namely, to prevent overpopulation and destruction of natural resources needed by primitive groups.

Havens, Leston L. (1972). "Youth, Violence, and the Nature of Family Life," *Psychiatric Annals* 2(2) February: 18-29.

Havens offers a historical, biological, genetic survey of the way a pattern of violence reveals itself through generations of families. He suggests that it seems to be passed on through body type, temperament, and perhaps special inherited features; but psychical and social mechanisms also have a part, as well as psychological transmission. Havens acknowledges that none of this is proven.

Hays, H. R. (1964). *The Dangerous Sex; the Myth of Feminine Evil*. New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons.

This background book explains the origin of the belief in women as property: the falsity of women as told in the story of the Fall, with Eve's deceit of Adam establishing the reason why no woman is trustworthy. In addition to the psychological basis was the motive of self-interest: the medieval marriage system made women chattel. An interesting bibliography follows the text.

Laing, R. D. (1969). *The Politics of the Family and Other Essays*. New York: Vintage Books.

This background book contains Laing's theories on how families receive instructions to behave from generation to generation through a "secret" communications network "dissociated from the official verbal communiques."

Miller, Jean Baker (1976). *Toward a New Psychology of Women*. Boston, Mass.: Beacon Press.

This book not only opens up for women a whole new way to see themselves and to recognize values in themselves that have been low-rated up to now, but also defines creativity and power in a whole new way. Violence against women would become a thing of the past with the assumption of the attitudes that Baker defines. This is a background book for any new thinking about women's roles.

Shorter, Edward (1977). "On Writing the History of Rape," *Signs* 3 Winter:471-482.

Shorter, a historian, claims that Brownmiller's *Against Our Will* is an inadequate history of rape. He denies many of her assertions that rape has always been power-politics in a male-dominated society. Shorter suggests that the politicizing of rape is a new development that began in the sixties. To understand the politicizing of rape, we will have to examine the frequency of rape from one epoch to another, systematically review differences in forcible sex from group to group, and sort out "with concrete evidence the extent to which 'normal' sexual encounters resemble rape."

Thomas, Keith. (1959). "The Double Standard," *Journal of the History of Ideas* 20(2) April:195-216.

This article is another that expounds the idea of women as property. The double standard operated to the advantage of men not only in the institution of prostitution but also in the case of divorce and the inheritance of land. Thomas, in this study of 18th-century England, uses primary and secondary sources to show how men maintained their sexual freedom while at the same time keeping single women virgin and married women chaste.

Wolfgang, Marvin E. (1976). "Family Violence and Criminal Behavior," *Bulletin of the American Academy of Psychiatry and the Law* 4(4):316-327.

The author states in the conclusion: "Violence in the family is partly a reflection of violent expression in the culture generally. But serious crimes within the family are most commonly related to sub-cultural values that minimally do not much inhibit physical responses or maximally condone and encourage them."

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Johnson, Carolyn; Ferry, John; and Kravitz, Marjorie (compilers) (1978). *Spouse Abuse: A Selected Bibliography*. Rockville, Md.: National Criminal Justice Reference Service (Box 6000, Rockville, Md. 20852).

This bibliography defines the problem of spouse abuse and describes various forms of intervention currently available. There are two sections, "The Nature of the Problem" and "Intervention." The first describes family violence, analyzes the causes, and makes suggestions for changes. In the second section, authors discuss the role of the criminal justice system, list options available to victims, and describe shelter models. All of the documents cited are contained in the collection of the National Criminal Justice Reference Service and are available on microfiche or through interlibrary loan. Citations include the names of publishers from whom documents may be obtained. A list of resource agencies and organizations addressing the issue of spouse abuse is also included.

Pethick, Jane (1979). *Battered Wives: A Select Bibliography*. Toronto: University of Toronto.

This new bibliography addresses the whole issue of violence in the family. The subject matter covers violent acts from assault to murder, the social and legal aspects of the problem, studies and research on abusers and abused, police intervention in family crises, and some solutions to the problem of battered women provided by various agencies or self-help groups in the community. The emphasis is on scholarly literature in American, Australian, British, and Canadian publications of the 1970's, although some earlier material is included as well as material from the popular press.

Cross-Cultural Studies

Hippler, Arthur E. (1974). "The North Alaska Eskimos: A Culture and Personality Perspective," *American Ethnologist* 1(3) August:449-469.

Socialization of Eskimo children tended to produce personalities which were at once dependent and cooperative, egocentric and violent. Principal concerns in Eskimo life developed around control of aggression. An indulgent early child rearing was followed by a second period of harsh teasing by relatives, even the mother. Such treatment led to frustration and rage which then had to be controlled by smiling demeanor. The fact that the universe, no matter how nurturant, was also occasionally unpredictable was impressed upon a child. Eskimo men treated women quite cruelly at times and nearly always as inferior. Hippler attributes this behavior to expression of repressed rage against an inconsistent mother.

Paddock, John (1975). "Studies on Antiviolent and 'Normal' Communities," *Aggressive Behavior* 1:217-233.

Limited preliminary studies have provided identification of several communities in the valley of Oaxaca, Mexico, that successfully control interpersonal violence without formal police and judicial apparatus of the sort customary in industrial societies, even though these antiviolent towns are surrounded by others showing a "normal" level of violence. Chief differences between antiviolent communities and neighbors are lack of machismo, contrasting practices of child rearing, and a much stronger social role for women. These communities oppose outside influences in the community, such as building new secondary schools by the government.

Legislative, Judicial, and Police Attitudes

Bannon, J. (1975). "Law Enforcement Problems with Intra-family Violence." Detroit Police Department (typed paper, unpublished).

Police avoid domestic violence situations both because they do not know how to cope with them and because they share the view that they are individual problems, not public issues. Bannon explains the extreme paradox of delegating to police officers the role of arbiters of family disputes, for no one is more thoroughly socialized in masculine role images than police. As long as women are considered property, the outlook for better treatment is dim. The Constitution of the United States reflected the socialization of its framers: Women were noncitizens, not entitled to protections extended to fully vested male citizens. Bannon outlines an entirely new approach to train officers in conflict-intervention techniques.

DeCrow, Karen (1974). *Sexist Justice*. New York: Vintage Books.

This is a review of the many facets of American law that affect American women to their detriment. Unfortunately, there is no index, but chapter notes and the text itself cite important cases and instances of the effect of patriarchal justice on more than half the population. Rape and prostitution are discussed at length.

Fleming, Jennifer B. (1979). *Stopping Wife Abuse: A Guide to the Emotional, Psychological and Legal Implications for the Abused Woman and Those Helping Her*. New York: Anchor/Doubleday.

This complete manual on stopping wife abuse assumes that readers already know that wife abuse is a problem and are ready to move on and learn to change the systems with which the battered woman comes in contact. The author is a founder of the Women's Resource Network, which provides training, consultation, and technical assistance to law-enforcement personnel, social service practitioners, and family violence programs. This manual embodies

a concept unique to feminists and those seeking social change: not to be bound by existing traditional helping methods. No alternate path is ignored if it points to a possible improvement for a battered woman. The author treats this many-layered subject from the perspective of battered women themselves and of the legal system. She discusses ways to influence legislation, the variety of counseling techniques, and establishing new services. A list of programs providing services is included. The author comments on perceptions of the underlying sexist bias in traditional research in psychiatry, psychology, social psychology, and social work: scholars pass along to each succeeding generation the tendency to look for sources of a problem within the individual's own psychological makeup. This diminishes women's faith in themselves and tends to lead to the "learned helplessness" described by Lenore Walker. Along with Walker (*The Battered Woman*) this encyclopedic volume, based on the author's total experience with all the exacting details, may well signal a breakthrough in eliminating domestic violence.

Fulero, Solomon M., and Delara, Christine (1976). "Rape Victims and Attributed Responsibility: A Defensive Attribution Approach," *Victimology* 1(4) Winter:551-563.

The article describes "two experiments in which female subjects attributed less responsibility to a rape victim similar to themselves than to a dissimilar one. The implications of this laboratory simulation work to the actual legal process are discussed. How jurors may be influenced by their personal preconceived notions and extralegal attributes is considered. Data also supports the 'just world' theory: If the solution is difficult or impossible, the injustice can be corrected by concluding the victim must have done something to bring on her fate." (Abstract)

Gottesman, Sharon T. (1977). "Police Attitudes Toward Rape Before and After a Training Program," *Journal of Psychiatric Nursing and Mental Health* 15(12) December:14-18.

Training programs for police in several major cities resulted in increased knowledge and awareness of the nature of the problem and also showed police reaction to rape in light of legal duties. The survey showed that 95 percent of police officers responded positively to the training program. The police voiced a need for further training in working with rape victims to increase recognition of the nature of rape trauma on the victim, awareness of personal feeling about rape and its effect on the victim, and knowledge of hospital and legal procedures. The study showed that police still believe that the rape victim shares responsibility because of her dress and behavior.

Langley, R. (1977). *Wife Beating: The Silent Crisis*. New York: E. P. Dutton.

Langley explores the various dimensions of wife beating by discussing legal and social history and data of sociologists, criminologists, psychologists, and others who have conducted research on the problem.

MacKinnon, Catherine A. (1979). *Sexual Harassment of Working Women: A Case of Sex Discrimination*. New Haven, Conn.: Yale University Press.

The legal intricacies in this book bear study. The author succeeds in simplifying difficult concepts to some extent for interested readers, but feminist lawyers undertaking sexual harassment cases will be its principal readers. Extensive chapter notes amplify and help to elucidate the text about inequality in the workplace. Sexual harassment is yet another area of long-hidden abuse of women that is now being revealed in all its ugliness. The author says in the Introduction, "...sexual harassment at work undercuts women's potential for social equality in two interpenetrated ways: by using her employment to coerce her sexually, while using her sexual position to coerce her economically. Legal recognition that sexual harassment is sex discrimination in employment would help women break the bond between material survival and sexual exploitation. It would support and legitimize women's economic equality and sexual self-determination at a point at which the two are linked."

"Rape Visualization to Train Police," (1977). *Innovations* 4(2):30.

In a discussion period and in a role-playing interview with a rape victim following a rape visualization session, police officers showed some notable changes in their responses, quite different from previous training groups in which rape visualization had not been shown. There was greater rage among the visualization group and an absence of the lewd comments made by previous groups.

Rose, Vicki M. (1977). "Rape as a Social Problem: A By-product of the Feminist Movement," *Social Problems* 25(1) October:75-89.

This is a very careful examination of variations in current laws in a number of states. These laws cover restrictions on cross-examining, limiting questions about the victim's previous sex life, the probability of falsified claims, and civil libertarian opposition to circumscribing the defendant's ability to bring the victim's sexual conduct to bear on the case. Various positions depend on whether civil libertarians assume the victim's or the perpetrator's perspective.

Rosenbluh, Edward S. (1976). "Crisis Techniques for Everyone," *Innovations* 3(2):38.

The author describes common methods of dealing with violence that work for all institution personnel, prison guards to nurses, developed by a Louisville chapter of the National Conference of Christians and Jews and university mental health departments. Lecturers from various disciplines use techniques such as role playing and sociodrama.

Sadoff, Robert L. (1976). "Violence in Families: An Overview," *Bulletin of the American Academy of Psychiatry and the Law* 4(4):292-296.

This paper introduces the several points of view expounded in a 1976 symposium "Medical, Legal and Psychosocial Aspects of Violence in Families." Arguments are made for the rehabilitation of the violent criminal as a worthwhile effort—in contrast to studies that view the effort to rehabilitate the same offender as a useless gesture and waste of taxpayers' money. "...the violent individual in families has to be dealt with by a number of medical, legal, and social practitioners, including general physicians, psychiatrists, psychologists, sociologists, neurologists, lawyers, and judges."

Scroggs, James R. (1976). "Penalties for Rape as a Function of Victim Provocativeness, Damage, and Resistance," *Journal of Applied Social Psychology* 6(4) October-December:360-368.

This experiment demonstrated the existence of attitudes which may bias the equal administration of justice in cases of rape. Penalties for the rapist are more severe if the victim is a married woman rather than a divorcee. If the victim is virgin, the sentence is midway between that of a married woman and a divorcee. The victim is "looking for it" if provocatively dressed or in a singles bar—situations construed as willingness. However, rape is presumably different from other crimes, such as robbery, in which the victim offered no resistance.

"Spouse Abuse," *Social Action and the Law* (1978). 4(6):July. Brooklyn, N.Y.: Brooklyn College, Center for Responsive Psychology.

This special issue on domestic violence in the journal of the Center for Responsive Psychology contains three articles and four book reviews focusing on the legal perspectives of jury selection, courtroom tactics, and police intervention. In this issue, the editors "have attempted to present both the advocates' positions and data from research aimed at giving insight into community attitudes about domestic violence. We hope these data will give social scientists some basis for sharpening theory, advocates insights into the type and prevalence of attitudes they will wish to change, as well as the most appropriate targets, and attorneys help in reviewing and revising strategies."

United States. House. Committee on Education and Labor (1978). *Domestic Violence: Hearings, March 16-17, on H.R. 7927 and H.R. 8948, to Authorize the Secretary of Health, Education, and Welfare to Establish a Grant Program to Develop Methods of Prevention and Treatment Relating to Domestic Violence, and for Other Purposes* (95th Cong., 2nd Session).

The text of both of the bills (H.R. 7927 and H.R. 8948) and testimony of their sponsors, academic researchers, and workers in the field on the problem of domestic violence are included.

Wisconsin Legislative Council Staff. Special Committee on Domestic Violence (1977). "Issues Relating to Domestic Violence" (Discussion Paper 77-1).

The introduction states: "This paper discusses the definition, development of data, and identification of causes of domestic violence; summarizes legislation enacted or pending in other states which relates to do nestic violence; summarizes some possible approaches to dealing with the problem; and provides an annotated bibliography of selected studies and reports relating to domestic violence."

Woods, Laurie (1978). "Litigation on Behalf of Battered Women," *Women's Rights Law Reporter* 5 (Fall):7-33.

This article describes a landmark lawsuit against the New York City police department and family court employees on behalf of battered women (*Bruno v. Codd*). The study covers factual preparation and legal strategy decisions. It includes the consent judgment against the police department and the reasoning of the appellate court in granting the court employees' motion to dismiss. (The court employees' case is still pending.) What the case demonstrates "is that there is potential for successful litigation against the police, clerical employees of the courts, and district attorneys on behalf of battered women... Most importantly, their resolutions can carry enforceable guarantees that the pattern and practice of leaving battered women to fend for themselves within a sexist law enforcement system can be ended, albeit slowly and reluctantly."

Medical Aspects

Flitcraft, Anne (1977). "Battered Women: An Emergency Room Epidemiology With a Description of a Clinical Syndrome and Critique of Present Therapeutics" (Yale Medical School Thesis).

This is an unusual study written from the perspective of a woman physician who sees wife beating as an epidemic and evaluates the shortcomings of emergency room response to battered women. A frustrating syndrome of treatment is described which, far from helping battered women, traps them into the pattern of more violence. Battered women are dismissed, Flitcraft avers, as "hypochondriacs, hysterics or neurotics and again treated with minor tranquilizers or psychiatric referrals." A larger study based on the pilot study is "Medicine and Patriarchal Violence: The Social Construction of a 'Private' Event" (1979), *International Journal of Health Services* 9(3):461-494.

LeBourdais, E. (1976). "Rape Victims: The Unpopular Patients," *Dimensions in Health Service* 54(3) March:12-14.

This is a report of enlightened hospital treatment in a Canadian hospital where traditional sexist attitudes of both male and female personnel toward victims had prevailed. Ten recommendations are listed that could serve as a model for hospital procedure.

McCombie, Sharon L., and others (1976). "Development of a Medical Center Rape Crisis Intervention Program," *American Journal of Psychiatry* 133(4) April:418-421.

This comprehensive study of a model hospital program includes discussion of the problems of implementation, including staff resistance, funding questions, and varying levels of counseling sophistication. One result of establishing the center described is that it has now become a resource center for the community.

McGuire, L. S., and Stern, Michael (1976). "Survey of Incidence of the Physicians' Attitudes Towards Sexual Assaults," *Public Health Reports* 91(2) March-April:103-109.

This is another of many studies of the treatment of rape victims. Quality of treatment is better or worse depending on the circumstances of the immediate followup care for the victim. Up to now, mostly men with traditional male attitudes have had direct postassault dealings with women.

Stark, Evan; Flitcraft, Anne; and Frazier, William (1979). "Medicine and Patriarchal Violence: The Social Construction of a 'Private' Event," *International Journal of Health Services* 9(3):461-494.

This study develops further the thesis advanced in Dr. Flitcraft's 1977 pilot study, "Battered Women: An Emergency Room Epidemiology With a Description of a Clinical Syndrome and Critique of Present Therapeutics." These research studies bear out the thesis that the medical profession tends to mire women in circumstances from which they need to escape. It places the medical profession's response to battered women's trauma squarely into the political and economic arenas where medicine operates as part of an extended patriarchy.

Psychological and Psychiatric Studies

Albin, Rochelle Semmel (1977). "Psychological Studies of Rape," *Signs* 3 (Winter):423-435.

This is a critical study of the way Freud and his followers, including Helene Deutsch, viewed rape: The female herself is responsible for it. Deutsch created a norm of womanhood in which masochistic traits are part of the ideal, healthy, passive female personality. Today's feminist focus on rape as a crime of power reflects an intentional bias against psychiatric analyses of rape which have all reinforced cultural (male) stereotypes of women.

Burgess, Ann Wolbert, and Lytle, Lynda Holmstrom (1979). *Rape: Crisis and Recovery*. Bowie, Md.: Robert J. Brady Co. (A Prentice-Hall Co.).

This work by the two authors of much of the earliest material on the treatment of rape victims in Boston is a longitudinal study of victims which focuses on crisis responses of victims, counseling methods that are useful in working with victims, and recovery issues identified by rape victims. The book is divided into seven categories: Rape, Victim and Offender; Reactions to Rape; Community Reaction to Rape; Forensic Issues; Crisis Intervention; Counseling the Victim; and Recovery From Sexual Assault. The chapters under each of these sections provide a detailed, often step-by-step narrative of the procedures that victims and helping personnel undergo from first appearance to resolution of the case. Victims' statements in each phase of the postrape period illustrate the depth of trauma in sexual assault. Treatment of child victims of incest is also discussed. Chapter references and notes provide an additional resource in this important book.

Groth, A. Nicholas, and Burgess, Ann Wolbert (1977). "Rape: A Sexual Deviation," *American Journal of Orthopsychiatry* 47(3) July:400-406.

The authors show that rape is an act of failure to achieve an adequate sense of self-identity and self-worth. Mental health professionals have little opportunity to develop expertise in the treatment of the rapist because, if apprehended, he is punished as a felon rather than treated as a patient. The authors describe two kinds of rape that share some characteristics: *anger*, an expression of revenge for what the offender perceives as rejection by women, and *power*, in which the offender, through control of the victim, makes rejection impossible. In this psychoanalytic view, rape is equivalent to the function of a symptom: it expresses conflict, defends against anxiety, and partially gratifies an impulse.

Groth, A. Nicholas, and others (1977). "Rape: Power, Anger, and Sexuality," *American Journal of Psychiatry* 134(11) November:1239-1243.

Accounts from both offenders and victims of what occurs during a rape suggest that issues of power, anger, and sexuality are important in understanding the rapist's behavior. All three issues seem to operate in each instance.

Hanks, Susan E. (1977). "Battered Women: A Study of Women Who Live With Violent Alcohol-Abusing Men," *American Journal of Orthopsychiatry* 47(2) April:291-306.

"This study of women who have repeatedly experienced violence in relationships with alcoholic husbands identifies three distinct types of family of origin. It is suggested that the women carry the conditions of their early family situations into marriage, and that clinicians' awareness of the background typology may help the women to understand and alter their behavior." (Abstract)

Lindsey, Karen, and others (1972). "Aspects of Rape," *The Second Wave: A Magazine of the New Feminism* 2(2):28-29.

The authors discuss rape from a feminist perspective as a tool for keeping women in the place created for them by male-dominated society. In rape, the assailant is symbolically violating another man's property in addition to violating the victim's body. The psychological trauma, pain, and humiliation of the victim are ignored, but her worth as property is devalued. Rape will continue until the present system of sex-role socialization and sexual myths are eradicated.

Metzger, Deena (1976). "It Is Always the Woman Who Is Raped," *American Journal of Psychiatry* 133(4) April:405-408.

This is a stunning analysis of a rape by a victim. The author suggests that only in the community, in a kind of social ceremony like that of mourning and grief, can the victim recover the spirit that the rapist steals.

Notman, Malkah T., and Nadelson, Carol C. (1976). "The Rape Victim: Psychodynamic Considerations," *American Journal of Psychiatry* 133(4) April:408-413.

The authors suggest that psychiatric help from a crisis intervention stand rather than from the usual traditional patriarchal psychiatric stand is the way to support rape victims. The article describes likely reactions of three groups of rape victims—young, divorced or separated, and older women—and the kind of supportive counseling and reassurance needed for each type. An excellent selective bibliography is included.

Paulson, Morris, J., and others (1974). "The MMPI: A Descriptive Measure of Psychopathology in Abusive Parents," *Journal of Clinical Psychology* 30(3) July:387-390.

There is "clear psychometric evidence that the sex of the abusive parent must be considered when one attempts to understand, identify, and treat such subjects. With the Minnesota Multiphasic Personality Inventory (MMPI) as an objective measure of personality, varying degrees of psychopathology in a sample of abusive parents were identified. Such knowledge should lead to ultimate goals of early identification and better understanding of abusive parents." (Abstract)

Pizzey, Erin, and Blades, Roger (1977). "Violence in the Family," *Medico-Legal Journal* 45(3):65-81.
Pizzey's account of the states of community that battered women go through in getting out of violent home environments is gripping. Especially notable is the clear evidence of "generational imprinting" that R. D. Laing describes in *Politics of the Family*; i.e., that "we can trace in many of our mothers that violence back generations and you could see children getting imprinted as they came through." Blades, describing his work with the violent children of battered women says, "The most extraordinary thing is that the children...are all good children because they are doing what their parents have told them; they are acting in a particular fashion because that is the family they have come from."

Rader, Charles M. (1977). "MMPI Profile Types of Exposers, Rapists, and Assaulters in a Court Services Population," *Journal of Consulting and Clinical Psychology* 45(1) February:61-69.
This is a report of one of a number of Minnesota Multiphasic Personality Inventory (MMPI) experiments. Data support the hypothesis that rapists who have committed offenses involving both violence and sex would produce test results indicating greater psychological disturbance than individuals committing offenses involving either only sex (exposure) or only violence (assaulters). A group profile of rapists reveals people who are irritable, hostile, angry, suspicious, somewhat depressed and anxious, unpredictable, and peculiar in action and thought. Repression, denial, fear of emotional involvement, poor social intelligence, serious difficulties in area of empathy and communication ability are other characteristics of rapists.

Rounsaville, Bruce J. (1978). "Theories in Marital Violence: Evidence From a Study of Battered Women," *Victimology* 3(1-2):11-31.
"Two types of theories are advanced to explain wife beating: psychological and sociological. Adherence to any one perspective has important practical consequences. In this paper the author considers the hypotheses generated at these two levels in light of data gathered on battered women. Evidence supports all of the social and psychological explanations offered in at least a portion of the sample. This supports the need for a 'systems analysis' approach to the problem, viewing family violence as the final common pathway of multiple determinants. In particular, Rounsaville suggests the important feature characterizing the syndrome of wife beating is the intense and exclusive dyadic system in which the couple is enmeshed. While, as individuals, the man may not be violent and the woman may be unwilling to tolerate abuse, once in the relationship a dynamic is created in which violence occurs in a stable fashion." (Abstract)

Saul, Leon J. (1972). "Personal and Social Psychopathology and the Primary Prevention of Violence," *American Journal of Psychiatry* 128(12) June:1578-1581.
This is a strongly patriarchal view by a Freudian psychoanalyst-emeritus who emphasizes that children reared with love and respect mature adequately and become loving, responsible, and productive spouses, parents, and citizens; that those who cause violence in the world are adults that have not been so nurtured. However, Dr. Saul does not advocate any changes in the present social system.

Shainess, Natalie (1976). "Psychological Significance of Rape: Some Aspects," *New York State Journal of Medicine* 76(12) November:2044-2048.
This study is one of the most pertinent on the causes of violence. Shainess cites both the Joanne Little and Inez Garcia cases as examples of male insensitivity. There is no true counterpart for rape in the male experience. "Painful, dangerous, unwelcome invasion of the inner body unknown to men...male homosexual anal rape is not a reasonable equivalent." In addition, the effect of weapons and the threat of brutality are unparalleled experiences. Whereas certain kinds of suffering may ultimately enrich a person's life, rape alters it completely and in a less fortunate direction.

Shotland, R. L., and Straw, M. K. (1976). "Bystander Response to an Assault When a Man Attacks a Woman," *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology* 34(5):990-999.

These experiments, a series of psychodramas—setting up street quarrels with women being attacked while bystanders stand passively by—are described statistically in their various aspects, with implications drawn for social control. In subjects' responses, women who were strangers to attackers were perceived as needing more help than married women (who presumably should know how to defend themselves from brutality).

Star, Barbara (1978). "Comparing Battered and Non-Battered Women," *Victimology* 3(1-2):32-44.

"This study compares selected psychosocial aspects of 57 battered and nonbattered women who sought refuge at Haven House, a shelter in the Los Angeles area. The findings challenge the masochism theory, pointing to passivity—rather than the need for maltreatment—as the rationale underlying the endurance of physical abuse. The impact of education, religion, and the early family environment are also analyzed. The paper concludes with a call for services not only for the abused but for the abusers as well." (Abstract)

Symonds, Martin (1978). "The Psychodynamics of Violence-prone Marriages," *American Journal of Psychoanalysis* 38(3) Fall:213-222.

Dr. Symonds' special interest in his work at the Karen Horney Clinic and in his private practice has been in victimology. He maintains that although husbands are also abused, it is only wives who suffer severe crippling and terrorization. In making a distinction among the meanings of violence, aggression, and hostility, which are often used synonymously, Symonds summarizes cases representing each of these behaviors and its variations. But violent marriages can be broadly divided into two major groups: (1) violence brought into the marriage under pre-existing character structure of individuals, almost exclusively by the husband; and (2) violence produced by conflicts that arise from the marital relationship. In long-term abusive marriages, there is little hope of help through counseling because, as Dr Symonds writes, the partners are "welded together by vindictive helplessness." Those most amenable to counseling are those in whom failure of communication has been the major source of trouble: "Violence is the response of despair when the listening stops and the war begins."

Symonds, Martin (1975). "The Rape Victim: Psychological Patterns of Response," *The American Journal of Psychoanalysis* 36 (1):27-34.

All rapists, whether compulsive or predatory, have in common the use of terror, intimidation, and acts of violence to achieve immediate subjugation of the victim. The victim reverts, naturally, to psychological infantilism when the gunman holds her at gunpoint, deciding whether or not to kill her. To the outsider, this behavior by the victim becomes "friendly and cooperative." When rape is viewed exclusively as a crime of violence, the victim's behavior becomes understandable. Police become more compassionate and less judgmental about behavior under the extreme stress of sudden unexpected violence. The victim then has less traumatic psychological consequences.

Walker, Lenore E. (1979). *The Battered Woman*. New York: Harper and Row.

Psychological abuse, says the author in the introduction, is often more harmful than physical abuse. Walker's three-part study contains data on both kinds of coerciveness. Part I, "Psychology of the Battered Woman," describes and refutes the stereotyped myths about the battered and the batterer that have prevented society from seeing battered women as victims. Part II, "Coercive Techniques in Battering Relationships," uses tape recordings of many women's stories as evidence to describe various abuse techniques, physical, sexual, and economic, as well as social battering and disruption through family discord. She discusses the three distinct phases of her cycle theory of violence: tension-building, the explosion into acute battering, and

the followup "loving" respite. Part III, "The Way Out," is an examination of the legal, medical, psychological, and other means that have continued to keep battered women as victims. Walker observes that providing help for victims is becoming a national priority, with studies at all levels of government. Walker outlines a three-level intervention system to develop new services and strengthen existing ones.

"Working With Battered Women. A Conversation With Lisa Leghorn," (1978). *Victimology* 3(1-2):91-107.

In a wide-ranging exchange, Leghorn tells Emilio Viano, editor of *Victimology*, that unpaid work in the home and its ramifications in powerlessness and lack of economic independence are the causes of wife abuse: The wife does not have enough control over her life to leave when she has been brutalized. On the inadequacies of traditional police response, Leghorn describes her in-service teaching at Boston Police Academy: Police tend to perpetuate all the stereotypes about women's verbal abuse being the trigger that justifies beating; that even when carrying out their mandate and doing what the law requires, police are still sympathetic to the husband.

Sociological Perspectives

Aegis: Magazine on Ending Violence Against Women. Washington, D.C.: National Communication Network, the Feminist Alliance Against Rape, and the Alliance Against Sexual Coercion.

Aegis is published six times a year by the organizations named above, whose members are activists working to end violence against women. The *Aegis* statement of purpose reads: "*Aegis* provides practical information and resources for grassroots organizers, along with promoting a continuing discussion among feminists of the root causes of rape, battering, sexual harassment, and other forms of violence against women."

Archer, Dane, and Gartner, Rosemary (1976). "Violent Acts and Violent Times: A Comparative Approach to Postwar Homicide Rates," *American Sociological Review* 41 (December):937-963.

The idea that waging war could increase the level of postwar homicide in combatant societies has occurred to many researchers. The possible effects of war on heightening domestic violence (*domestic* in this case means *not foreign*) is discussed. This is a good background reading on the legitimization of violence by the state.

Barkas, J. L. (1978). *Victims*. New York: Scribners.

Barkas became a victimologist as a direct result of the brutal murder of her brother by a mugger who was never apprehended. It is a passionate and thoughtful study of the devastating results to victims, their families, and friends of the outrageous treatment accorded them by the present criminal justice system. Barkas elaborates the "just world" hypothesis—the get-what-they-deserve attitude of many police departments, making the victim the scapegoat—and the frequently misguided rehabilitation efforts often merely wasted on the offender. A wide-ranging bibliography of all types of material on treatment of criminal and victim from earliest times is included.

Barnett, Nona J., and Feild, Hubert S. (1977). "Sex Differences in University Students' Attitudes Toward Rape," *Journal of College Student Personnel* 18(2) March:93-96.

It is surprising that male college students still support many of the myths regarding rape, including insensitivity to the physiological and psychological trauma of rape on women. The study points up the need for rape education programs involving men as well as women.

Brownmiller, Susan (1975). *Against Our Will: Men, Women, and Rape*. New York: Simon and Schuster.

The impact of this book has been widespread. Written from a feminist orientation, it is a history of rape with special concern for rape in the United States. It describes male power over women: how it evolved in the legal system, as a weapon of war, and a means, as it remains today, of social control. This book is already a classic of the new feminism.

Business and Professional Women's Foundation (1978). "Battered Women," *Info Digest*. Washington, D.C.: The Foundation, 2012 Massachusetts Avenue, NW, Washington, D.C. 20036.

This occasional paper on battered women gives a succinct outline of the problem, including what resources, services, and technical assistance have been organized to address the problem.

Clark, Loreene M. G., and Lewis, Debra J. (1978). *Rape: The Price of Coercive Sexuality*. Berkeley, Calif.: The Women's Press.

"Hailed in Canada as an important study, this analysis of 117 rape complaints filed in Toronto in 1970 is of interest elsewhere as well. Two dedicated feminists carefully develop a theoretical model for interpreting the data and conclude that radical structural change is necessary throughout judicial and educational systems. Notes and bibliography are included." (*Booklist*)

Connell, Noreen, and Wilson, Cassandra (1974). *Rape: The First Sourcebook for Women*. New York: New American Library. (New York Radical Feminists).

The total process of consciousness raising, speaking out, theory and research, and political action is described. The complex experiences of growing awareness and involvement led to the formulation of goals to eliminate rape. This group of radical feminists was among the first to advocate change in the law; psychological research on the nature of rapists, their victims, and also of psychologists; and reeducation for any person dealing with a rape victim. In politics the group backed candidates sympathetic to necessity for change, formulated procedures to help victims, such as the use of female detectives and judges, and improved living conditions and transportation in areas where the crime was most prevalent.

Corning, Peter A., and Corning, Constance Hellyer (1972). "Toward a General Theory of Violent Aggression," *Social Science Information* 11(3/4):7-35. Published under auspices of International Social Science Council and UNESCO. The Hague, Netherlands: Mouton & Co.

This scholarly study is basic background reading because it contains an enlightening description of genetic and biological-evolutionary factors and of sociological theories that scientists have attributed to the origin and continued existence of violence in human beings.

Coser, Lewis A. (1963). "Violence and the Social Structure," *Science and Psychoanalysis* 6:30-42 (Violence and War With Clinical Studies). London and New York: Grune & Stratton.

This book contains information about violence in revolutions. Coser says that in homicide, i.e., *personal* violence, women internalize the acceptance of their lower status and tend to experience relatively low deprivation. In revolutions, when traditional expectations have been shattered, women need no longer accept inferior status. Revolution provides occasion for assertions of equality that were previously unavailable to women.

Davidson, Terry (1978). *Conjugal Crime: Understanding and Changing the Wife-Beating Pattern*. New York: Hawthorn Books.

The author of this book grew up in a family in which the father, a respected minister, terrorized his wife and children. Davidson uses her own experience to emphasize the fact that family abuse is not a crime exclusively of the impoverished slum dweller. She discusses various means of support for battered families and avenues toward prevention.

Dobash, R. Emerson, and Dobash, Russell (1979). *Violence Against Wives*. New York: The Free Press.

This scholarly work by two Scottish professionals and activists in the field demystifies all the patriarchal shibboleths of wife beating. The current term *domestic violence*, the authors point out—an effort to democratize the language and make it applicable to both sexes—also neutralizes the impact and makes it less reprehensible in the public eye: for that term implies that both men and women are equally culpable in committing violent acts. Not so, the Dobashes maintain. Their concern is specifically for brutality against women, the victims from time immemorial. The authors' aim is to make the reader aware of wife abuse in its full social and cultural context by bringing together accounts of the social control and abuse of women from a number of standard historical sources. Chapters on the helping professions and police and legal response also reveal the power of myth in dealing with (covering up) wife abuse. The chapter on women's own response to wife abuse through Erin Pizzey's work and the work of the National Women's Federation is excellent. The bibliography is extensive and includes both modern and older works.

Dukes, Richard L., with Christine L. Mattley (1977). "Predicting Rape Victim Reportage," *Sociology and Social Research* 62 (October):1-19.

Forty-five recent rape victims were interviewed to discover reasons why some victims report offenses to police while others do not. Results of open ended and closed ended questions indicated that the experience of fear immediately after the rape interacted statistically with perceived police consideration in handling rape cases. The findings of this research support a model which suggests that for crimes in which victim fear is characteristic, if police are perceived as providing a haven for an extremely frightened victim, she is likely to report crime to them.

Flynn, J. P. (1977). "Recent Findings Related to Wife Abuse," *Social Casework* 58(1) January:13-20.

This is a summary of a report of a research project on spouse assault conducted in Kalamazoo, Mich., at the request of the Kalamazoo chapter of NOW, during May and June 1975 by a team of graduate students and faculty members of the School of Social Work of Western Michigan University. Findings indicate a complicity by community agencies—police, hospitals, physicians, attorneys—to remain silent and to blame the victim rather than the perpetrator.

Geiser, Robert L. (1979). *Hidden Victims: The Sexual Abuse of Children*. Boston: Beacon Press.

The sexual abuse of children takes many forms, from acts so subtle or devious as to make detection difficult to vicious acts of undisguised hatred of the child. An adult is always responsible for abuse, no matter how much the child is brainwashed into guilt about being the cause of the molestation. The varieties of sexual abuse described in chilling detail are startling: rape, incest, pederasty, prostitution, and deviant environments. The author suggests several ways to end sexual abuse of children. These include a national reporting system, broad public education programs to promote public awareness, no-nonsense sex education programs in the public schools, research into family dysfunction, and general programs to strengthen families. Geiser also suggests the creation of a teenage domestic Peace Corps of all youths not in school, consisting of 1 to 2 years of paid service for work in social welfare agencies. A final suggestion, which the author calls utopian, is the creation of a Quality of Life Council in 1987 (to celebrate the anniversary of the signing of the Constitution) to assess and evaluate the quality of life in this country 200 years later.

Gelles, Richard J. (1976). "Abused Wives: Why Do They Stay?" *Journal of Marriage and the Family* 38(4) November:659-668.

In cases of abuse, the wife with fewer resources and less power, who is more "entrapped" in her marriage, will suffer more before calling for help.

Gelles, Richard J. (1978). "Methods for Studying Sensitive Family Topics," *American Journal of Orthopsychiatry* 48(3) July:408-424.

This is a perceptive study of the difficulties in obtaining reliable data on violence in the family. The author discusses each method practiced today and outlines the constraints of each approach. Some of the obstacles to data collection are the private nature of family and difficulty in locating subjects, engaging their cooperation, and obtaining valid and reliable data. The author proposes methods for pursuing research on taboo subjects and says risks must be taken in the study of sensitive topics in order to find creative and humane solutions.

Gelles, Richard J. (1974). *The Violent Home: A Study of Physical Aggression Between Husbands and Wives*. Beverly Hills, Calif.: Sage Publications (Vol. 13, *Sage Library of Social Research*).

The author says that this is an exploratory study and cannot be considered conclusive because it was based on only 80 interviews. However, certain inescapable conclusions are reached. One is that the family, more than any other social institution, is the primary mechanism for teaching norms, values, and techniques of violence and is far more basic than TV violence or school discipline. Violence is learned behavior.

Goode, W. J. (1971). "Force and Violence in the Family," *Journal of Marriage and the Family* 33(4) November:624-636.

Nearly all of this issue of the *Journal* is devoted to violence and the family. Goode's introductory essay maintains that "violence is itself a resource which can be used to achieve desired ends. It tends to be used when other resources (such as money, respect, love, shared goals) are lacking or found to be insufficient." This philosophical-historical study compares and contrasts family socialization in the light of ends to be desired in various periods under varying kinds of government.

Griffin, Susan (1971). "Rape: The All-American Crime," *Ramparts* 10 (September):26-35.

Griffin exposes the rape myths as follows: A male-dominated society needs an underpinning to keep the order of things as it has always been. Men define "chastity" and women who do not conform to their standards are candidates for rape. More important, the laws governing rape protect the rights of *men* as possessors of women and reinforce the idea that rape is a crime committed by men against *men*. This is one of the first pieces to view rape as an instrument of power.

Hartwig, Patricia A., and Sandur, Georgette Bennett (1975). "Rape Victims: Reasons, Responses, Reforms," *Intellect* 103(2366) May-June:507-511.

This article is full of interesting ideas about the social and legal aspects of rape from a cultural context. Regarding the development of sex-role stereotypes, the authors say that it is possible that shifting the blame onto the victim at a subconscious level served as a self-protective mechanism for both men and women. Today, they say, two major problems of rape research lie in the lack of standardized definitions of crime from state to state and in the lack of validity and reliability of the statistics on rape. For example, there is a variation in the meaning of words like *force* and *consent* and the inclusion in their definitions of acts formerly excluded.

Horos, Carol V. (1974). *Rape*. New Canaan, Conn.: Tobey Publishing Co., Inc.

Horos explores the following aspects of the crime of rape: characteristics of offender and victim, history of rape and rape laws, ways to prevent crime, reporting crime, medical treatment, court procedures and the trial, and emotional support for victims. Horos outlines procedures and suggests guidelines for establishing rape crisis centers and lists of centers across the country.

Martin, Del (1976). *Battered Wives*. San Francisco: Glide Publications.

Martin is a leading authority on the problem of battered wives and coordinator of the NOW Task Force on Battered Women. The basis of the problem, Martin argues, is not in husband/wife interaction or immediate triggering events, but in the institution of marriage, historical attitudes toward women, the economy, and inadequacies in legal and social service systems. Martin wants police and prosecutor functions to be constrained. She proposes specific legislation prohibiting wife abuse and suggests that judges protect the wife by closing the door to probation and deemphasizing reconciliation. Other recommendations concern gun control, equal rights, and marriage contract legislation.

National Commission on the Observance of International Women's Year (1978). *The Spirit of Houston; the First National Women's Conference: An Official Report to the President, the Congress and the People of the United States*. Washington, D.C.: U.S. Government Printing Office.

The National Plan of Action with its 26-plank program is incorporated into this report. Both the battered woman and the rape planks include substantial sections on violence toward women. In a concentrated way, the planks cover the historical treatment of these crimes, current legislative concern, suggestions for emergency help, and legislative reform.

Nichols, Beverly B. (1976). "The Abused Wife Problem," *Social Casework* January:27-32.

Nichols says that the old-fashioned rigidity of the patriarchal social system limits innovation in the treatment of abusiveness. Caseworkers philosophically linked to preservation of family life are reticent to really help victims. Moreover, minority group traditions allow wife abuse as a fact of life. More professional social workers from minority groups are needed to deal with the serious problems that ethnicity creates. So far, only the women's movement has broken free of stereotypes and has initiated innovative approaches to treatment of abuse.

O'Sullivan, Elizabethann (1978). "What Has Happened to Rape Crisis Centers? A Look at Their Structures, Members, and Funding," *Victimology* 3(1-2):45-62.

Responses from 90 rape crisis centers to a mail survey provide the evidence in this article which attempts to achieve three objectives: (1) fill in a segment of the history of the antirape movement and the women's movement in the United States, providing material for assessing their impact; (2) identify organizational trends and provide a better basis for self-analysis and decisionmaking by individual rape crisis centers; and (3) help guide development of similar grassroot organizations, such as shelters for battered women.

Owens, D. M., and Straus, M. A. (1975). "The Social Structure of Violence in Childhood and Approval of Violence as an Adult," *Aggressive Behavior* 1(2):193-211.

Data from a national sample survey conducted for the Commission on the Causes and Prevention of Violence were used to investigate the relationship between three aspects of exposure to violence in childhood (observing, being a victim of, and committing violence) and approval of violence as an adult. The amount of violence experienced in childhood is one of the factors contributing to the development and maintenance of cultural norms which support the use of violence in face-to-face situations.

Response. Washington, D.C.: Center for Women Policy Studies.

This bimonthly newsletter informs groups working on domestic violence and sexual assault. It discusses current literature, funding sources, current research, conferences, and, most important, innovative and effective programs and techniques.

Russell, Diana (1975). *The Politics of Rape: The Victim's Perspective*. New York: Stein and Day.

Written in the same year as Brownmiller's *Against Our Will*, this book is also a classic of modern feminism. Russell examines rape in a series of interviews with rape victims and devotes a large section to rape within marriage. Most laws will not recognize rape as a crime in marriage. Russell refutes rape mythology. She, like Brownmiller, sees rape as the result of the unequal socialization of males and females.

SANEnews (Spouse Abuse North East News). Middletown, Conn.: Domestic Violence Component of the Community Health Center, Inc.

This newsletter, like *Response*, the organ of the Center for Women Policy Studies, keeps groups who work on domestic violence and sexual assault informed. It includes reviews of domestic legislation and funding sources, regional news, and profiles of people who are active in reform.

Schwendinger, J., and Schwendinger, H. (1974). "Rape Myths: In Legal, Theoretical and Everyday Practice," *Crime and Social Justice: Journal of Radical Criminology* I:18-26.

This debunking of rape myths was written from a Socialist point of view. Crimes of violence, the authors say, have been produced by capitalism, and capitalism will continue to feed the hatred and contempt of certain men toward women. The women's movement can prevent rape only by joining a political struggle to eliminate bourgeois domination of everyday life, which itself occurs because of the sexual double standard that typifies this society.

Seligman, Clive, and others (1977). "Rape and Physical Attractiveness: Assigning Responsibility to Victim," *Journal of Personality* 45(4) December:554-563.

The subjects of this experiment attributed provocation to unattractive victims (since the rapist would not of his own accord attack an unattractive victim)! But in cases of mugging and robbery, the same subjects did not perceive attractive and unattractive victims differentially. The sexual connotation must be removed from the crime of rape. It is as much an act of violence as any other physical assault.

Silverman, Daniel (1977). "First Do No More Harm: Female Rape Victims and the Male Counselor," *American Journal of Orthopsychiatry* 47(1) January:91-96.

"As the crisis of women who have been raped is more frequently brought to the attention of mental health workers, male counselors are increasingly being confronted with responsibility for aiding female victims. This paper considers the difficulties inherent in men's fulfilling this therapeutic task and discusses male misconceptions and responses that may undermine the efforts of well-meaning counselors." (Abstract)

Social Work (1976). 21(6) November:418-491.

This is a special issue on women. Two articles, "Helping Victims of Rape" and "Battered Wives: An Emerging Social Problem," discuss the need to raise the consciousness of agency staffs and the role of advocacy in abuse.

Straus, Murray A. (1976). "Sexual Inequality, Cultural Norms, and Wife-Beating," *Victimology* 1(1) Spring:54-70.

Straus identifies nine specific ways in which the male-dominant structure of society and of family creates and maintains a high level of marital violence. There are many helpful references.

Tidmarsh, Mannes (1976). "Violence in Marriage: The Relevance of Structural Factors," *Social Work Today* 7(2) April 4:36-38.

Tidmarsh examines causes of battering and finds that, while no two cases are alike, there are many common factors contributing to wife battering. Among them are social isolation, wives' embarrassment in discussing their situation with relatives, the relationship between drunkenness and violence, immaturity of young couples, overcrowding, financial strain, and poor accommodations. Tidmarsh believes that the current move toward greater equality will, in the short run, lead to greater violence, but, in the end, the flexibility of equality will lead to a reduction of violence.

United States Commission on Civil Rights (1978). *Battered Women: Issues of Public Policy*. Washington, D.C.: The Commission.

This book contains the statements of participants in a consultation called by the commission to discuss the entire problem of brutality in the home. Experts in the field of abuse from many disciplines and representing a diverse racial, ethnic, and geographic population, spoke at this consultation. The objectives were "to identify sound, existing research data, as well as research gaps, and consequently, to consider research strategies; to identify necessary State legal and law enforcement reform; to identify needed short-term and long-term support services for battered women; to identify, in all of the above, the appropriate Federal role; to facilitate communication among researchers, activists, policymakers, and others; and to inform the public."

United States. House. Committee on Education and Labor (1979). *Hearings on Domestic Violence: Prevention and Services, July 10-11*. Washington, D.C.: U.S. Government Printing Office.

This volume of testimony in support of H.R. 2977 by U.S. senators, representatives, and professionals in law, social work, police work, and medicine—all dealing with the many-sided issue of domestic abuse—speaks to the need for more effective training of personnel at the community level, more and better resources for victims, and relaxation of unrealistic eligibility requirements to make what resources and services exist more accessible to the ever-increasing number of victims who seek them.

Vinsel, Anne (1977). "Rape: A Review Essay," *Personality and Social Psychology Bulletin* 3(2) Spring:183-189.

This review essay of Brownmiller's *Against Our Will* and Russell's *The Politics of Rape* is a jumping-off point for a consideration of social psychology's failure so far to address the causes and consequences of rape in this society. Vinsel says that while investigation of victims' reactions is important, it seems to have been conducted at the expense of thinking about the roots of rape as a social phenomenon. Vinsel thinks that the two books she reviews, although outside psychological literature per se, may provide a starting point for a social-psychological investigation of rape.

WIN News (Women's International Network). Lexington, Mass.: Fran P. Hosken, ed.

Fran Hosken calls *WIN News* an open participatory network by, for, and about women, which started in 1975 during the International Women's Year (IWY) Conference in Mexico City with reports from over 100 countries as well as the IWY Congress in East Berlin. It carries ongoing columns, including one on women and violence.

Woolley, Sabra F. (1978). *Battered Women: A Summary*. Washington, D.C.: Women's Equity Action League, 805 15th Street, NW, Washington, D.C. 20005.

This concise account of the recent history of an old problem discusses violence toward women. The social context of wife abuse, causes, and laws are among the subjects included.

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